

Bella Coda Indians - Carbon Original Part One

XIX

BA-0054/001 (28)

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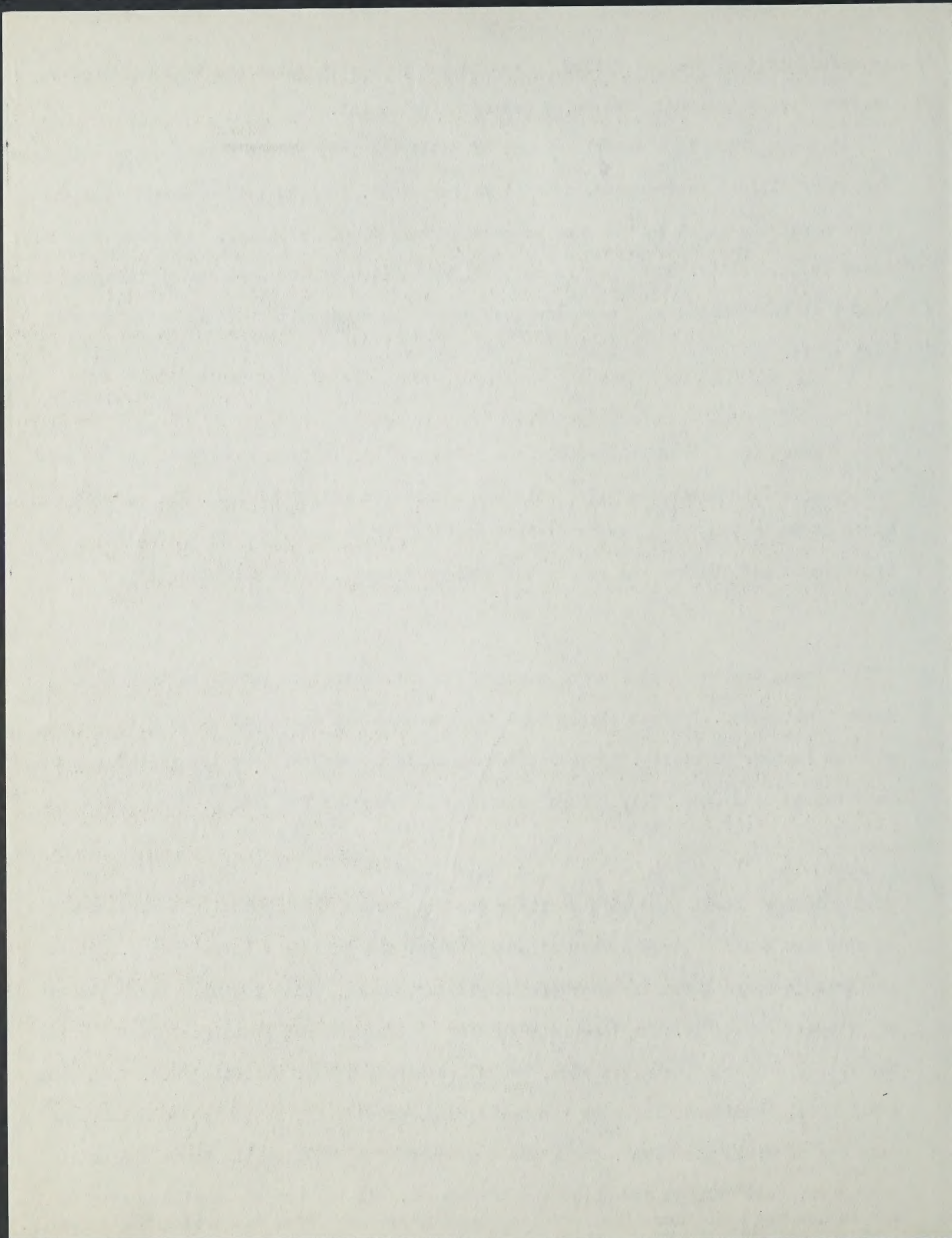
powerful stalt m who has failed to repay what he has received and is considered to be very low in the social scale, a person of no moment.

At a m there is a certain amount of jollification, probably leading to a certain amount of illicit intercourse, but not to very much. At a kusiut ceremonial men and women spend the night in the same house with very little clothing, and unquestionably there is immorality. But there is no legal relaxation of the laws and anything of this kind that takes place is a mere exorescence on the ceremonials and is not a genetic part of it.

1254 Among the BellaX Bellas, NOT the Bella Coolas, it is common for a man to hold intercourse with another's wife, with the connivance of her husband. The seducer gives goods to the woman who hands them over to her husband, who welcomes the arrangement and the two men remain the best of friends, often x hunting together.

1254 Among common people, never among stalt m s, marriages sometimes took place without witnesses. The man simply took the woman to his house and lived with her without further formality. In such case any children were without legal status and were looked down upon. This illegal marriage is known as X t laas m.

1256 At the actual time of a marriage the bridegroom and his family throws down outside the house a large number of presents for the bride and herx family. Outside the bride's house there are many youths playing around, while inside a large number of witnesses assemble. When the father of the bridegroom and the groom himself enter the father of the bride gives them, and all others present, a little food. Then some small girl, usually a sister of the bridegroom, crosses the house to the bride, and asks her to cross the house. She gives a present of a few blankets xk to the small messenger, then crosses and joins the bridegroom. All the bride's family goes with her to her new home where they receive numerous presents from the bridegroom's family.



1258 On every occasion that Schooner has given a m his wife's family has contributed to his resources, x which has allowed his wife to add to the renown of the name of one of her family.

1262 The collective name for the four heavenly carpenters is M sm salan x or, as they are also called, Kw lwh ltem, which means, "He who does carpentry." The most powerful of the carpenters is Yulatimut, whose name means, "He who finishes (or makes) with a single smoothing motion." The second is Matlap lito k, "He who finishes (or makes) with a single blow of the axe", and the third, t i ul k, "He who finishes his work in a day."

If a man has a kusiut ceremonial of M sm salan x the carpenters make for him four masks. If one of the carpenters comes to visit the kusiut dances of mortals he is portrayed as wearing a hat the pattern of which varies with the four carpenters.

1261 The names, by which is really meant the original home and origin and power of all s saok and stalt m ceremonial, remain in Nuskwatnaista, the land of the supreme god. This is probably a variant of Nuskwalwhaista, the place whence came all kusiut names. From there the names were brought to this earth by a siut woman, Anulikwuzait, who deposited the names for safe-keeping in what is visualised by the Bella Coola as an underground repository, Nuskasiutsta. Anulikwuzait thus knows everyone's kusiut story and remains on guard over it in its xx Nuskasiutsta, while at the same time she keeps looking upwards and keeps in touch with the doings of siut. Nuskasiutsta is not in one place, but in as many places as there are kusiut stories. When a man bestows a name, which includes story, dance, and mask, it is Anulikwuzait who makes this mask for the new owner. Every mask has its own name representing the siut shown on the mask but the ~~gxakix~~ general name is lulusta. In the Nuskasiutsta there lives also Anulikwuzait's sister Nunu to xh m.

1260

A nameless figure.

Place string as simple loop over left hand little finger and holding it with right hand thumb and index finger at a distance of about six inches from left hand little finger, keeping the two strings separated. Through out the movements of this figure the right hand must be kept at about this distance, more string being taken up as more is used on the left hand.

With left hand ring finger take up left hand ulnar little finger string from distal side.

Pass left hand middle finger distal to left hand radial ring finger string and take up left hand radial little finger string on its back.

Pass left hand index finger distal to left hand radial middle finger string and take up left hand radial ring finger string on its back.

With left hand thumb pick up from proximal side left hand radial index finger string and left hand radial middle finger string, keeping these two strings separated and uncrossed.

Rotate left hand so that these two strings, still held separate by right hand thumb and index finger, cross the palmar aspect of the left hand.

With left hand index finger take up from proximal side the left hand distal radial thumb string.

* Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, causing the strings held in the right hand to cross on the palmar aspect of the left hand. *

With left hand middle finger take up from proximal side the left hand proximal radial thumb string-----to the ulnar side of the crossed strings.

Repeat * to *. With left hand ring finger take up from proximal side the left hand distal ulnar index finger string-----to the ulnar side of the crossed strings.

Repeat * to *. With left hand little finger take up from proximal side the left hand distal ulnar middle finger string-----to the ulnar side of the crossed strings.

Release left hand thumb, pull with right hand and the figure disappears.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
2. second is the fact that the
3. third is the fact that the
4. fourth is the fact that the
5. fifth is the fact that the
6. sixth is the fact that the
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12. twelfth is the fact that the
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18. eighteenth is the fact that the
19. nineteenth is the fact that the
20. twentieth is the fact that the

1264 Certain kukusiut had the ability, or privilege, of summoning to this earth certain siut from above for their kusiut ceremonialX (they could h lh l to their qowh lik). Schooner's brother u kw ala had this power, but never used it for himself, only when requested by some important kusiut who was giving a first class kusiut ceremony (w la). When so requested uxkwak u kwala lay for four days on a couch place at the back of the house, but outside the qlusta, and during this time no one was allowed to pass between him and the fire. Four kusiut are chosen to act as anus x for him, which means "to clear his path", in other words to assist him. On the fourth day u kwala blackens his face (as is done by all kukusiut except alhotla when dancing), puts on his head-dress covered with ~~egk~~ eagle down, and leaves the house accompanied by the nunusi m and the four anus x. They enter first the bottom (downstream) house of the village, the nunusi m beat time and sing the songs of the anus x and these dance for a short time, while uxkwak u kwala moves his dance-apron as if too weary to dance himself. Followed by as many people as wish to watch the repetition of this ceremony they go to every house in the village.

When all have assembled in the house of the giver of the ceremony the a nipotlam takes charge and bids the people be seated. u kwala dances around the fire and casts on it eagle down which has the effect of making the ~~mt~~ siut above take their places, as he does so he talks at intervals, saying that he can see so-and-so and so-and-so sitting down: the last to be seated is Kwililias Nuskampta, the dangerous or obstreperous siut who greedily wants to receive many presents at any distribution. When u kwala states that the siut above have assembled the carpenters bring forth two ^{of some substance covered with moq} objects shaped like half-moons which serve as klabkusnam for siut, exactly as if they were wealth to them. A carpenter hold these over ~~m~~ u kwala's head, then an alk takes them and casts them into the fire while u kwala asks H mh milotla to accept the present and be present at the ceremony. H mh milotla is the eldest of a number of siut brothers and sisters whom u kwala is able to summon, the moq object cast into the

fire for him portrays his countenance. The objects thrown on the fire are moq , iqw , and eagle down. The same procedure is repeated for the second of the siut brothers, ^{Amqomk l ka,} Hancua, and then for the others in order, Aim lotla, Aimk l ka, Qomteua, Kwilillas Nuskampta, Atmaq (the Kingfisher who always dances wherever he goes), and Klitcapliwhana except that for the last, who is greedy, food is thrown on the fire instead of the other goods. Klitcapliwhana's other name is Nu tu twaiuttsan, meaning "He who always wants gifts." When these presents have been made u kwala stands up and sings. Presently there is heard a thud on the roof, made by a man concealed there for the purpose by the senior kukusiut, but to the uninitiated it is explained that it is a siut guest (y k t m) who has come for the dance. To substantiate this whistling is heard, the voice of the ye x. The people then disperse.

Everyone washes and decorates himself for the important evening ceremonial to which all are summoned by the alk at dusk. The belief is that the ye x has brought a song to u kwala who sits down among the nunusi m who sing it. The alai a, one of the nunusi m then interprets the song to everybody. This interpretation is the same for every occasion that u kwala uses it, and is the same for every person who has this right with respect to his name u kwala, but the actual wording of the song differs on every occasion. Next the nunusi m and the audience together join in the song, under the leadership of the s nkwtzam, one of the leading officials of the nunusi m .

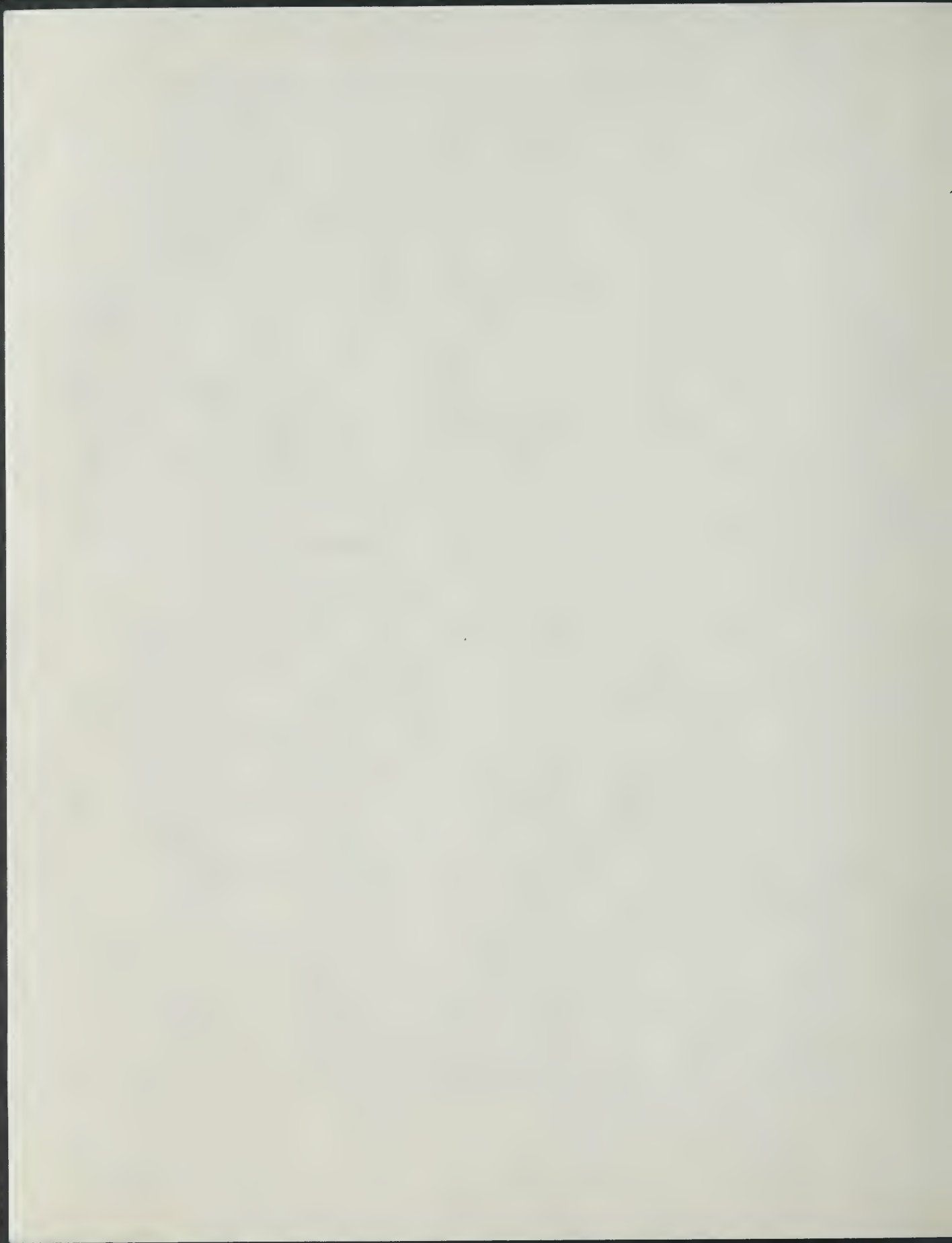
u kwala dances as the song is being sung. Then food is given to all.

The right to summon these siut from above has descended to Harry Schooner's boy but he has never used it. In this case it passed to a brother's son's son.
and at the request of someone else

It is only on special occasions that u kwala summoned the siut brothers from above by means of his gifts, usually when he gave his dance it was without this. The prelude to all kusiut dances is when a ye x comes to the performer. This is described, to the amkl nata, as a visitation from siut, which comes without warning at dusk, sometimes when the recipient is in his own house, sometimes when in another's. When this comes to

u kwala he at once stands up and cries out intelligibly, and any kukusiut women present make a humming noise (qlimaxlis) to welcome the ye x. An alk goes around the village calling out, "He has been pressed to earth, he has become heavy", but he does not say to whom he is referring, nor does he enter the houses. Presently he goes around ~~one~~ ^{announcing} once more, this time going inside all the houses ~~and saying~~ "u kwala has received a dance", and he invites all the kukusiut to gather at u kwala's house. The amkl ueta living in the house go out and the kukusiut enter at the proper time. There is the usual beating of time four times, and then u kwala, still sitting down sings the song which he has received from the ye x, in reality he has learnt it from the nunusi m. The nunusi m apparently listen and learn it from his recitation, then they sing and the audience joins in happily. Someone now goes out to borrow a sounding-board (kapw l a), a drum, and sticks for beating time (ts ta). These are used by any kusiut and there is no particular profession of beater of the drum. The nunusi m leading the whole audience takes up the song while u kwala dances, his face blackened and wearing meq. Then he sits down and the song of some other kusiut present is started by the nunusi m and this man likewise dances, and then one after another until all who are able to do so have performed. Someone now takes away the sounding-board. Food is provided by whoever is giving the ceremony and as all are eating an a nipotlam stands up and talks, giving the kukusiut good advice, never to ruin their sacred rites by discussing them with the uninitiated, but always to guard them jealously.

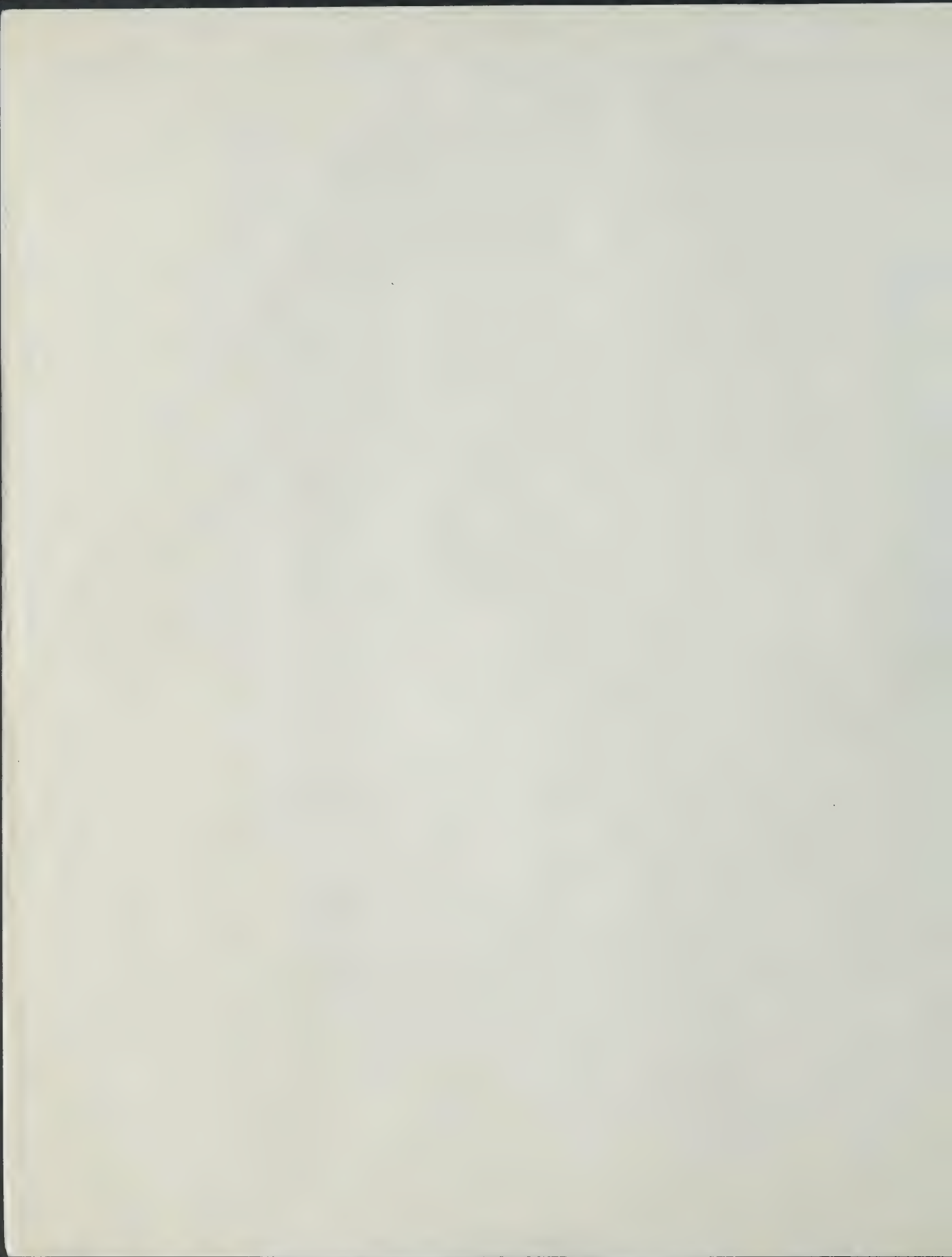
There are four a nipotlams in each village, they are the representatives on this world of the four siut who are in charge of the kusiut up above, and who remain in the qlusta of the house there. Their names are Smalaikila, Sas kalai, Alquntam, and another. It is they who send down to this earth the dances and the laws regulating them.



1268 If an uninitiated youth should happen to learn anything about the kusiut ceremonial he must at once be initiated into the ranks of the kusiut.

1276 In the beginning of time the supreme god fashioned all creatures in his house aloft which is known as Nuskwatnaista or Naskl metnan neta. The name of the supreme god is S nhalotla, which is the term applied to the sun, but he is also called M nakais, and when referred to in song it is under the name Smalaikila. (NOTE. There is a contradiction here, I am tolerably certain that Smalaikila is one of the four lesser kusiut deities who preside over the kusiut ceremonial of siut and is not another name for the supreme god. T.F.M.) Not only were all men made in this house at the beginning of time, but siut, animals, birds, fishes, etc., and ~~S~~ S nhalotla sent them down to earth fully provided with clothing or plumage and made for each its proper language. All living creatures are the children of S nhalotla because he made them. My informant believes that Nuskwatnaista must travel with the sun, because the latter moves and yet never leaves his house, however this was his personal opinion, and I believe that other Indians would have explained it on the ground that the house was boundless. When a person dies he splits into two, one part going below to the land where the dead live exactly as on this earth except that presents which mortals give to them are greatly magnified for the dead and that the dead speak a language which differs from that of the living, while the other part of a man, including his h xmenoss, goes back up the path of his ancestors to Nuskwatnaista.

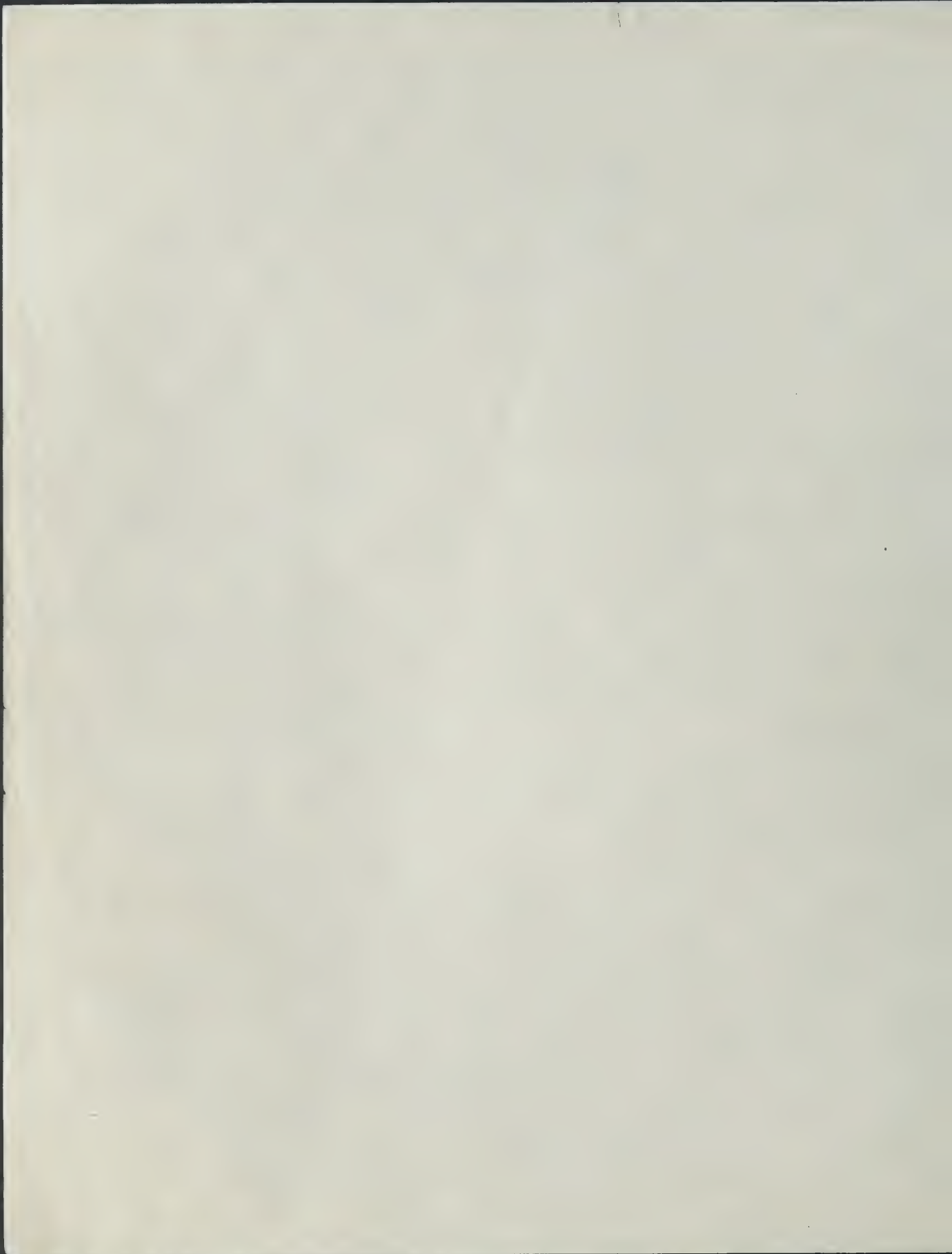
When the first people came to this earth they brought with them their stait n names given to them by S nhalotla. Some of these first people landed in the Bella Coola valley, but all ranged over the earth before choosing where to settle. In their travels they saw many strange sights and had many adventures, because all were in part supernatural at that time. For instance the first ancestor, in the paternal line, of Schooner's wife went far to the north seeing, en route, a weasel, and at length



reaching a house in which lived a copper raven and his family. From this experience the man became a kwala and obtained a s saok name and dance. Not only the first people were able to have such experiences, but since that time very many men have had the same, so that the number of a saok names has increased transcendently from the few that came down with the first people. A person having had such an experience tells the nunusi m of it and they compose a song for him, he tells the carpenters also and they make a mask representing his vision. Before the real m he calls the people from his own and the adjacent villages and they are shown what he has done and what he has seen. S saok names, and with them the privileges are transmitted through the owner willing his to a son or other ~~mask~~ relative when he chooses, the only essential being that the recipient be of stalt m rank. The new owner has the right to portray the original experience, thus Harry Schooner uses a mask with a raven and weasel on it because he has inherited the right from his mother's first ancestor in the patrilineal line. If a man has no children he passes his privileges to relatives, thus Myers has transmitted his to Schooner's children, though even if he had not done so Schooner would have taken them because he knew them and Myers was a relative.

to the ranks of the kukusiut

(230) Before a youth can be admitted his father, or whoever is giving the name, must ask and receive the permission from the stalt m s. Such a meeting is held at one of these secret meeting-places such as the ledge of rock behind Gomketz. After the youth has been initiated by means of the rite with the rock crystals his sponsor stands up and orates the story on which the name depends. When Harry Schooner was initiated he received one name from his mother and another from his father: his father stood up and told of an experience of one of his ancestors with the moon (nt a , or nt a aikila, or qloq) from which Harry received the name Koho an , and his mother told of an experience which one of her ancestors had had with Noax hn m, the siut who brings the salmon and from which Harry obtained the name Kaka Anutamlaix. When the stories had been



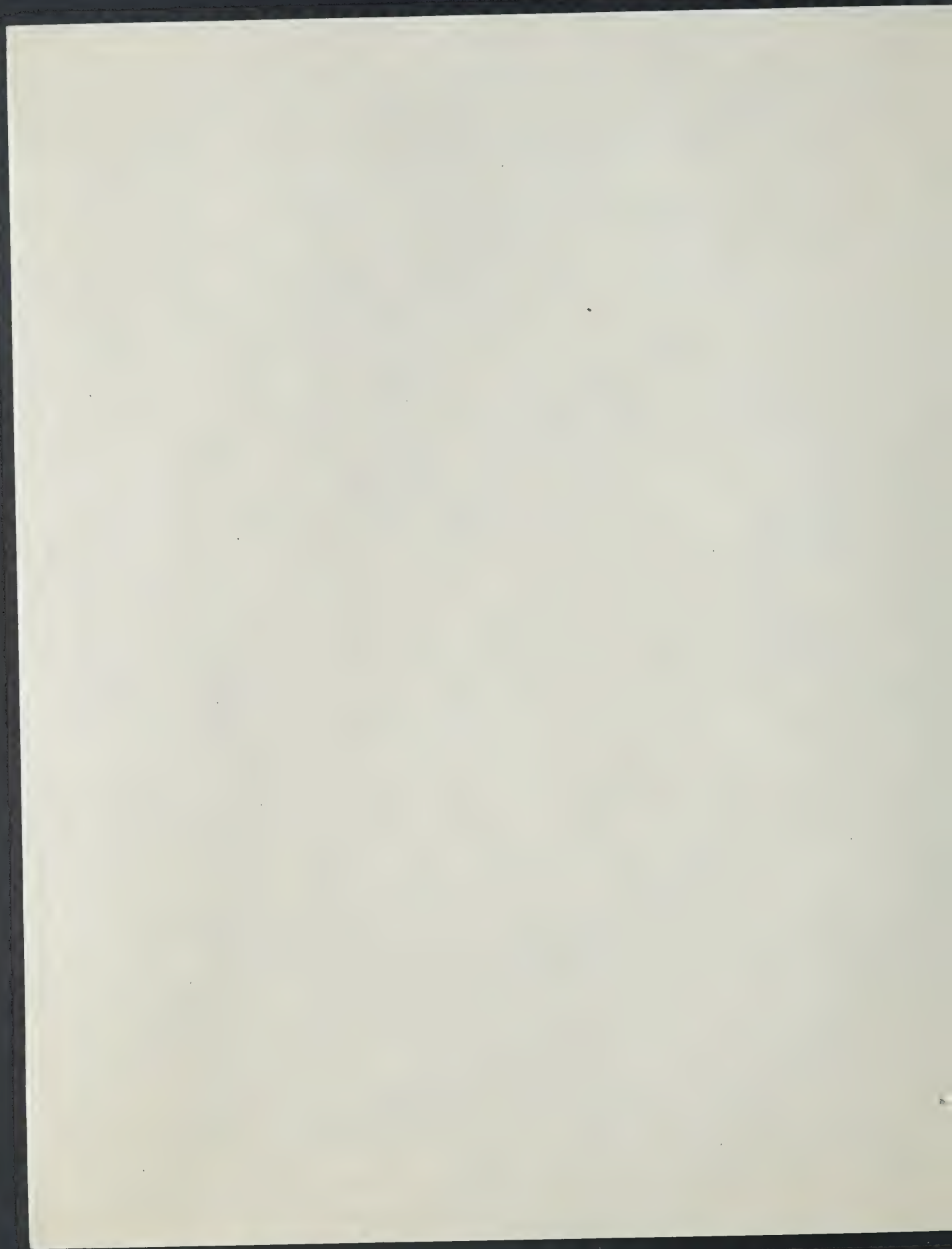
orated the su lk m, who has been listening intently, turns the words into song, he knows and remembers all the songs of the different men in the village, and if he should forget the alai a hastens to help him. A man does not use the dance or name which he has received on his first year, but the year later he has full power and a does so with the proper masks.

1282 At the season of the winter ceremonial the life or spirit of all mortals, that part of them which is siut, goes up aloft to take part in the dances held there. At the winter solstice the sun enters the house and all who have gathered there at once leave. If during the confusion of getting through the doorway the siut stumble against one another so that one of them falls, then the man on this earth whose life has fallen above at once dies.

1283 The sun wears a coat on the inner surface of which there are salmon. When he reverses the coat to show these there are many salmon on this earth.

1284 The ceremonial of cutting the stomach was first done above, and then passed down to us.

1285 Schooner's brother u kwala was able to summon Amqonk l ka and the others to To mot, other persons have the power to summon them to other villages. Long ago the four siut beings who preside over the ceremonials up above sent down this name and power to an ancestor of the Schooner family, and it has since been cherished. The story which the alai a orates is the story of the first obtaining of this name and power by the early ancestor. Amqonk l ka and his brothers remain up aloft unless they are summoned to earth by u kwala or someone with like power.

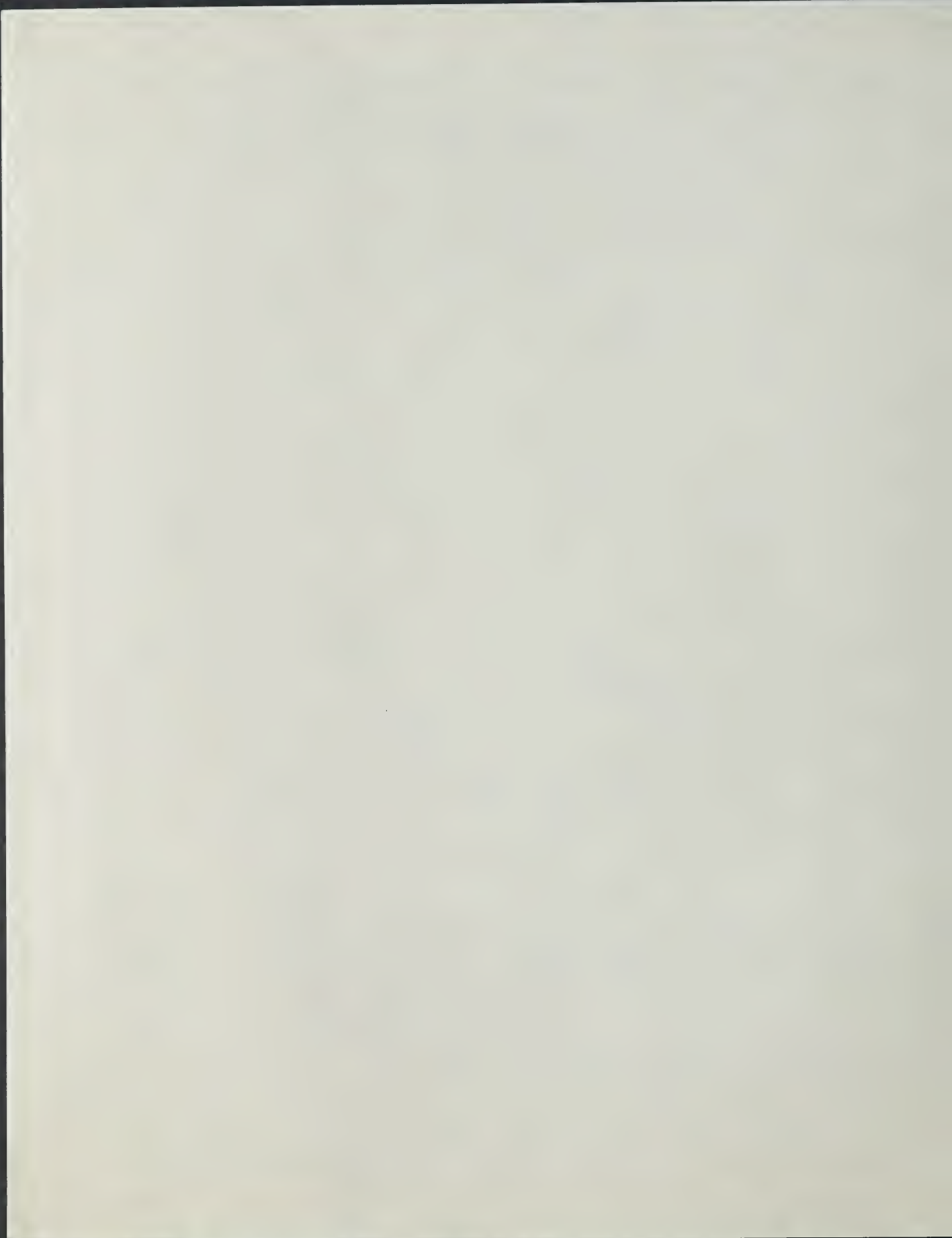


1284 The following is an account of the initiation of u kwala into the ranks of the kukusiut, but it is typical of any initiation; it will be convenient to refer to u kwala as X.

X's father, having first obtained the assent of the stalk ~~as~~ to his son assuming the name of u kwala, with attendant privileges, said to his son, "I want you to take the name u kwala, a kusiut name belonging to me, its nupkasiuteta is at such a spot." He also informed his son that with the name went the power to summon from above the ^{alone} siut brothers Amqomk l ka and the rest. X forthwith went to the place indicated by his father and looked down into the ~~the~~ earth where he saw the cellar-like opening and the two women, as his father had told him he would see. Then he returns home.

The next November XX X receives assistance and advice from some friend who is a kusiut. The latter takes him into a house where all the kukusiut are gathered after some kusiut ceremonial and X told them what he has seen. Four women are present and they ~~x~~ utter the peculiar drone, q naxkwu t, without which no ceremony is effective. The friend bids an alk notify the inhabitants of the village, which he does, telling among others the parents of X who were ignorant of the exact time their son would begin his rite. The parents drive out of the house any ~~ankl~~ meta who live there, and make it clean and tidy. The alk meanwhile continues his announcing throughout the village that power has come to so-and-so.

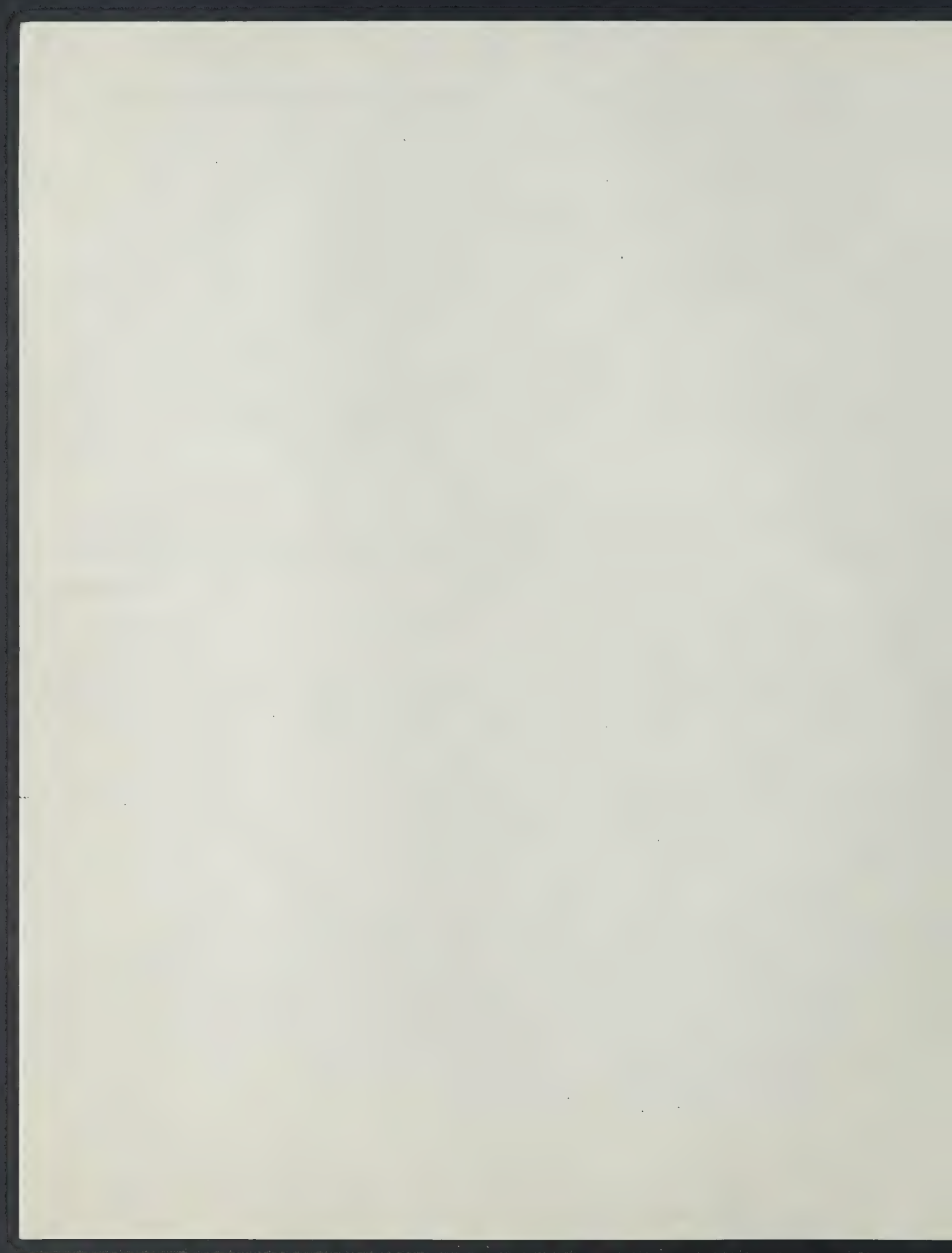
When all is ready the alk goes around crying out, "Skid p, skid p, kukusiact", which means, "Make strong the heart, make strong the heart (of the initiate) ye kukusiut." All the kukusiut assemble in X's house and as they enter the alk calls on the hmatz and the onikot to cause X to ~~kass~~ obtain siut to become a kusiut and lose his low state of being uninitiated. The hmatz and the onikot are two officials who act as initiators for all kukusiut, their power to do so is a privilege inherent on their names~~X~~. All the people sit down around the sides and back of the house, X himself being seated in the centre of a row of people behind the fire. Nearly all



The hmatz now instructs the two kukusiut who are sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat (nustq marta) for him. These two lie down at X's feet, irrespective of whom they are. The hmatz now stands up and announces that he is going to get a ye x for X: he walks around the room peering here and there as if seeking something, then pounces as if he had caught something between his hands, and a whistle is heard. This is caused by a goat or bear bladder compressed between two sticks and carried beneath the arm-pit from where it can be made to sound by pressing the arm against the body under concealment of the cloak, but the suggestion is that it is the voice of the ye x captured by the hmatz. The persons lying near X's feet ask him, "Do you know that the whistling which we call the voice of siut is caused by a man-made whistle carried under the arm?" If X denied all knowledge of this nothing further is said and the method is explained to him, but if he knew the cause, he is at once asked who told him. Probably some lad had been peeking and had whispered what he had seen to X, and in this case the informing youngster is initiated as soon as may be to prevent a further leakage of information. When X has learnt this great secret he moves to one side and the nuusi m take up their positions behind the fire. X's father, or whoever it may be from whom he is to receive his name, then stands up and unfolds the story of the name, and of which siut is used for his mask, and of the site of the nukasiusta. Then the people disperse.

1290

1287 A person who has received a kusiut name, with accompanying dance, must wear moq around his neck and keep his face blackened for one year. The a nipotlan warns him, immediately after he has received his name, that he must be circumspect in his dealings with the amkl meta, he may talk with them but not play or engage in frivolous conversation with them. If the man wants to go hunting during this period he takes off his moq after leaving the village, purely as a matter of convenience to prevent it from getting torn in the woods, but puts it on again when he is returning.

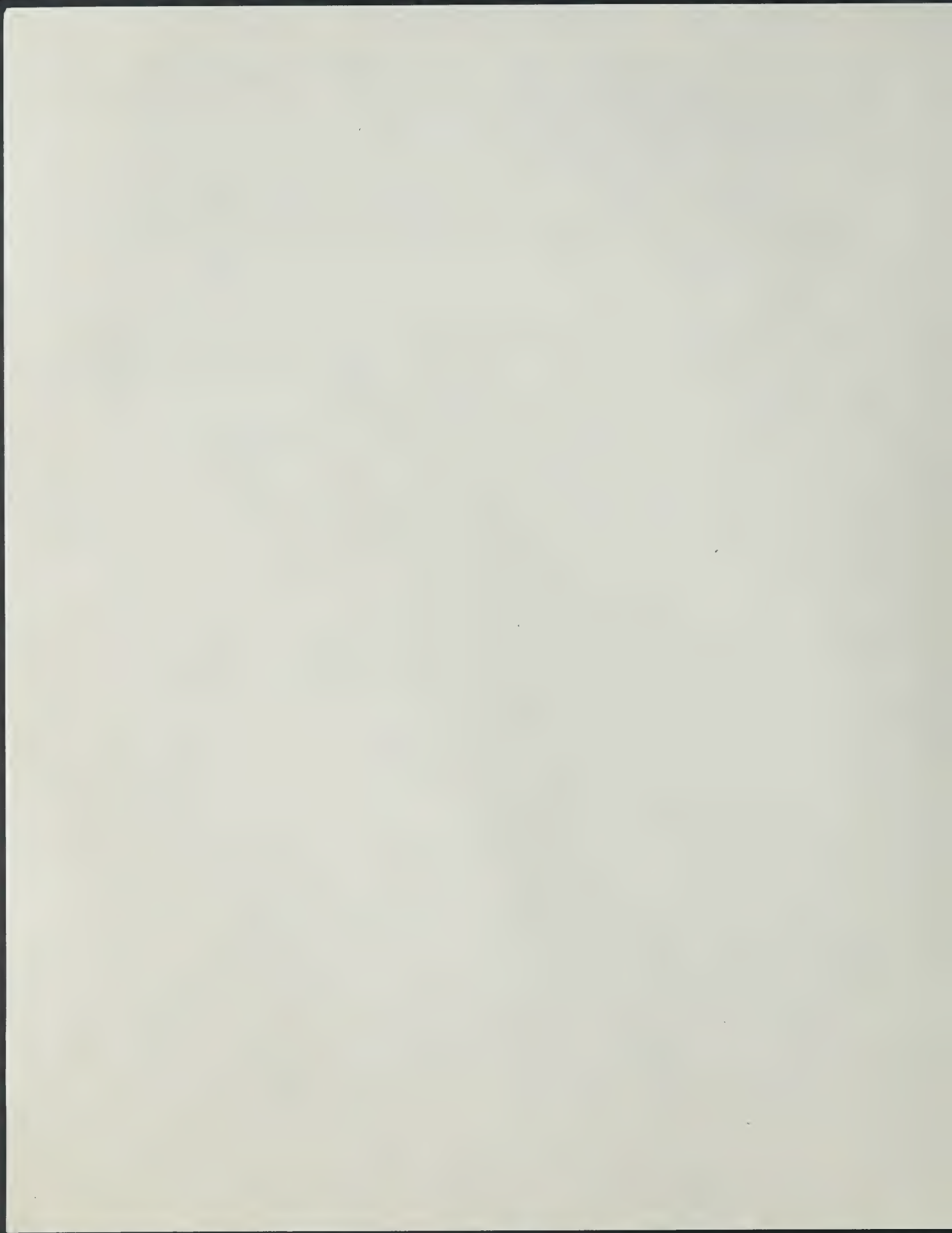


1287 Schooner is an a nipotlam and as such has a stick and the right to strike on the head any kukusiut who has broken the kusiut laws. This power came to him from his father with the kusiut name Nutwimax, but if he should die the power would be inherited by his son (to whom it has apparently been willed) whether or not the latter took to himself the name Nutwimax.

1289 In the old days anyone who kusiut who dared to disclose kukusiut mysteries to an uninitiated person was beaten or killed by the a nipotlam.

1294 If an amkl meta should dare to enter the house where a kusiut ceremonial was taking place, or even to pass the door on the side-walk, *his h xmanoas is drawn from him and enters the kusiut whose ceremony is taking place. The latter falls as if dead, and everyone knows what has happened. Any old man, they all know how to do this and it is immaterial who does the act, goes to the stricken performer and draws from him the h xmanoas. It usually has entered his heart in which case the old man places his two hands over the man's heart as if they formed a cup, and presses violently as if forcing out some object: as he does so keeps uttering the cry h ip, and all who are present beat time violently. As soon as the h xmanoas has been extracted the sick man recovers. Then the person who has extracted it goes, accompanied by a number of kukusiut, to the house where the reckless amkl meta has gone and returns his h xmanoas to him by kneading it into his neck. If this is not done the man soon falls ill, becomes mad and tries to eat dirt, and before long dies. Everyone has a h xmanoas and if it leaves a person he at once falls sick and dies unless it is returned to him. Similarly if it moves a person becomes ill and requires the services of a doctor to keep it quiet.

* During the kusiut dances the amkl meta walk on the beach instead of the side-walk.

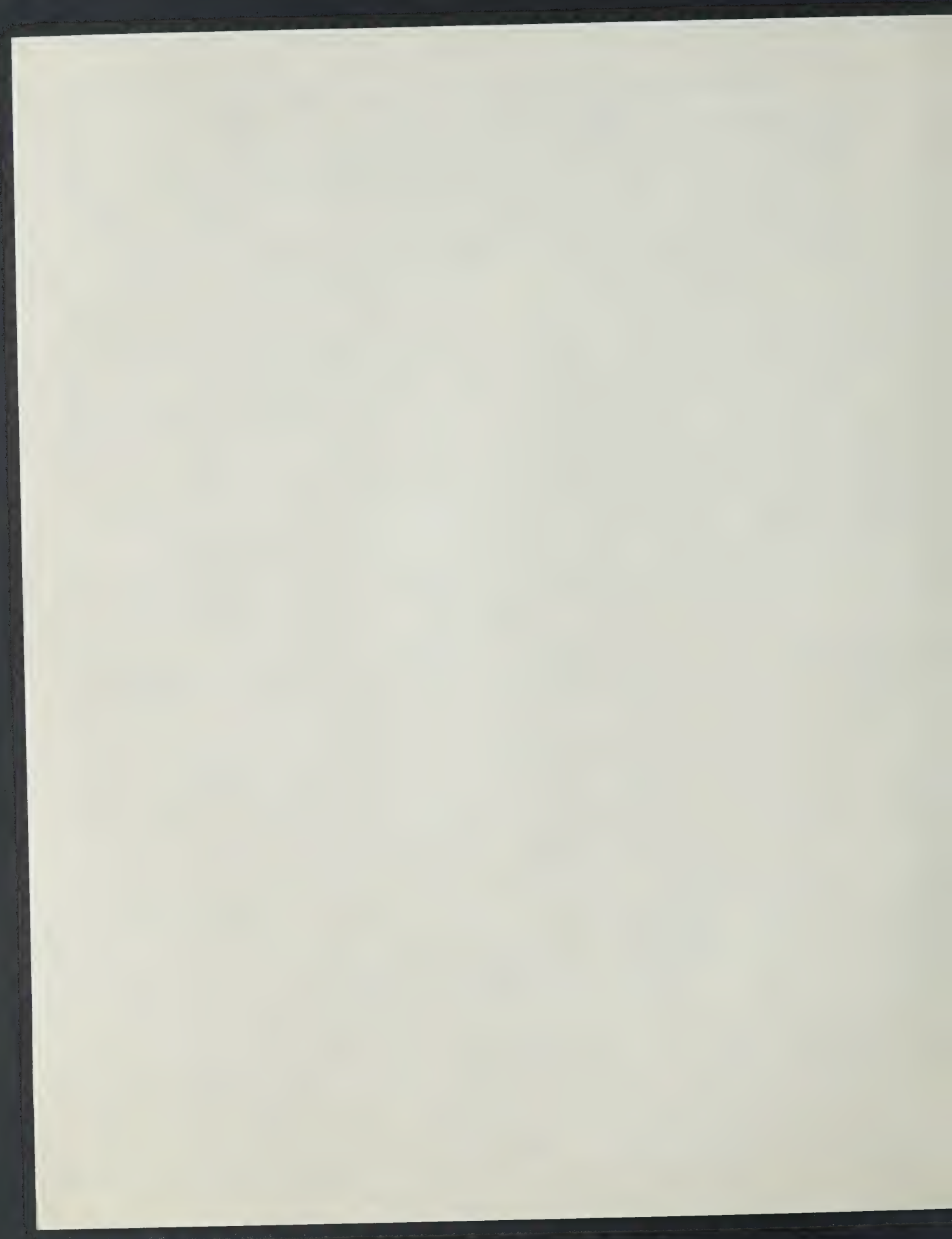


1294 Schooner believes, but would not state as a definite fact, that once a house at Kimsquit fell during an *akamixi alhotla* ceremonial, and that a Bella Coola *stelt m* summoned *Tc b sa*, chief of the Kitkatlas to send a raiding-party against the Kimsquits for their breach of the law. He believes that this was done, and knew of the law requiring the efforts of a third tribe to punish such a disaster.

1295 In the old days there was no professional prostitution.

1296 When a *kusiut* (let us refer to him as X) first gets his dance there is placed on the back wall of his house a thing like a flag, called a *sk mos keta*. If some youth should forget the warnings which have been given him not to pass between this and the central fire, and should do so, and at once his *h xmanooas* is drawn from him into the *sk mos keta*. X may be in another house at the time, but at once he feels what has happened, and enquires whose *h xmanooas* has fled to his *sk mos keta*. The frightened lad admits that it is his, fully convinced that he will soon die unless he is helped. X, with a number of attendant *kukusiut*, goes to the *ixix* house and extracts the *h xmanooas* from the *sk mos keta*, using his hands as a cup and sucking with his mouth four times. But X has a *ye x* so cannot return the *h xmanooas* to its owner, instead he transfers it, by pressing four times, to the leg of some *kusiut* friend who has no *ye x* on him at the time, and who accordingly is not wearing *moq*. This friend restores it to the lad by kneading it into the back of his neck.

Everyone has a *h xmanooas*, it comes with a baby at birth, but does not become strong and able to leave its owner until the latter is old enough to understand simple things. Thus a baby in arms is able to pass between the fire and the *sk mos keta* without ill effects. During life it is seated at the back of the person's neck, and should it move even slightly the owner becomes ill. A man who understands such matters is called: he presses violently and with blowing and spitting causes the wandering *h xmanooas* to take



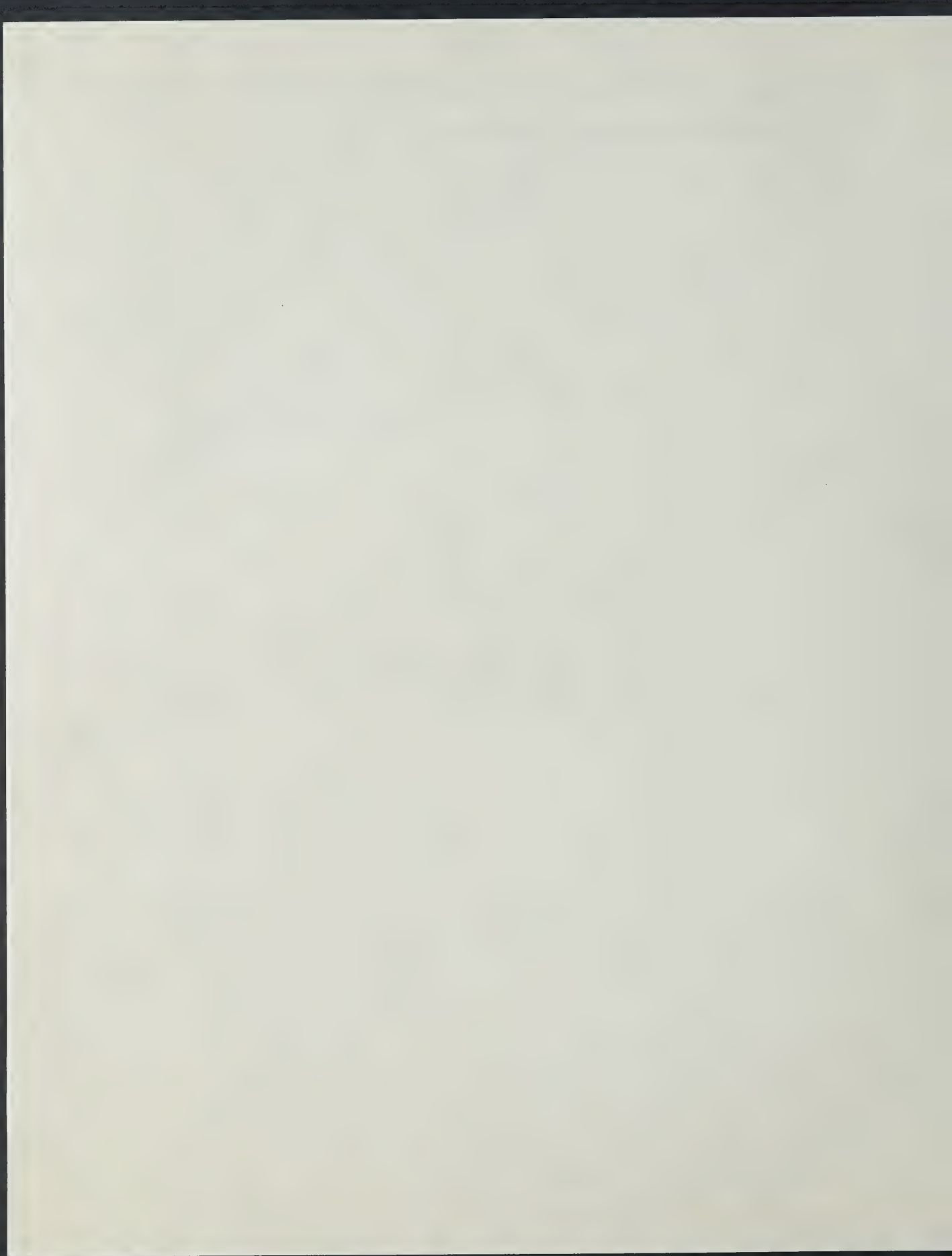
its rightful position once more. At death the h xmanooas goes aloft to the place whence the Bella Coolas originated, going with a rush and a whirr that is sometimes audible.

If two persons meet unexpectedly face to face in the woods and one of them shouts loudly, perhaps only in fun, the sudden start sometimes causes the other's h xmanooas to leave him. The person to whom this has happened falls down as if dead. After a time he recovers slightly, but his case is incurable because his h xmanooas has wandered away and no doctor is able to bring it back, so that the man dies a lingering death. A sudden start of this kind is known as sk m.

1300 An a nipotlam is also called anulikwuzait, and is regarded as a representative of this siut.

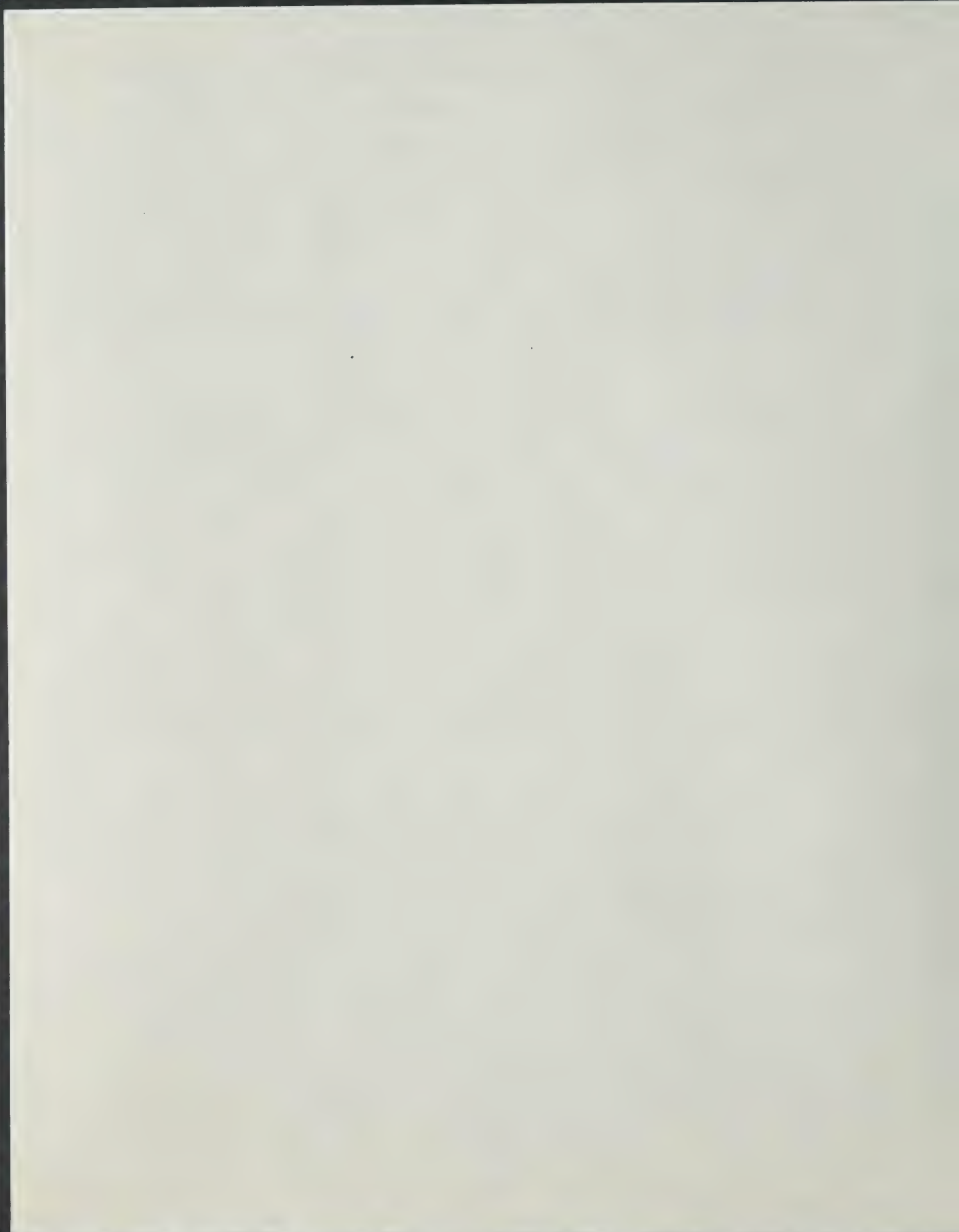
1302 In the following account of the ceremony of the coming of Noaxim m, which is the prelude for the winter ceremonial, the name of the man who has the right to do this ceremony is Koho an , a son of my informant. It will be convenient to refer to him as X.

In every village there are a certain number of old men who carefully watch the moons so as to calculate the date of the arrival of Noaxim m. On the ^{day} ~~evening~~ before ^{start} this date the men inform X, or his father, that he will axixm to-morrow. X summons the stalt m s, who gather secretly at dusk and the calendrical experts tell them what they have previously told X. Meanwhile in the land of the salmon Kaxm Noaxim m is likewise taking stock of the passage of time and on the right date he despatches to X a messenger Nu als ntn m. Early in the morning X stands up and cries so that all in the house can hear him, "Once more I see coming to me what I saw last year." X's father calls an alk who goes out and repeats loudly the exact words which X has used. and then goes from house to house inviting the people to come to see X. The people enter, the nunusi m leading the way and taking their places behind the fire from



where they begin one of the songs which they have composed during the summer months. The theme is how Yulatinut and the other carpenters have made the blankets for Nu als mtn m in the form of a bird, apparently referring to the messenger's likeness to a swift-flying bird, or in fact to his having the characteristics and personality of a bird. Nu als mtn m is spoken of under several names. When the song is finished some of the kukusiut carry out the kape l a to the bottom (farthest downstream) house of the village which they make tidy by sprinkling sand on the floor. The nunusi m and others gather and finally X appears, wearing moq and the tails of two eagles in his hair but with his face unblackened. As the nunusi m and the kukusiut sing the song of Nu als mtn m he dances sunwise around the fire, accompanied by the beating of time on the sounding-board. Then they leave this house for the one immediately above where the same procedure is repeated, and so until every house in the village has been visited. X then returns to his own house where once more he dances as the song is sung. X's father, if the latter is alive and acting for him, distributes food to all and during the meal the a nipotlan stands up to deliver his usual admonitions, a task which he performs on every occasion when the kukusiut eat together. Then X's father bids everyone help in the building of a sk mos ksta, a raised flooring with sides behind which a person can lie concealed; this is always built between the fire and the room at the back of the house. The materials have been prepared in readiness and it is soon built, X climbs up into it out of sight and the people disperse.

X has with him some other kusiut, usually a young man but it does not matter who it is, and together they arrange X's eagles' tails and moq on a box or some other object so that they barely appear over the raised edge of the sk mos ksta so that it seems as if X were constantly sitting there gazing fixedly in the direction from which Noaxhn m is approaching. For four days this disguise is left in position, and during this time X takes great care not to be seen by any ankl msta, he often leaves the sk mos ksta but ventures no further than the room at the back of the house. Early on the morning of the fifth day X stands up and cries out, "Yupal ", a cry which (apparently) has the

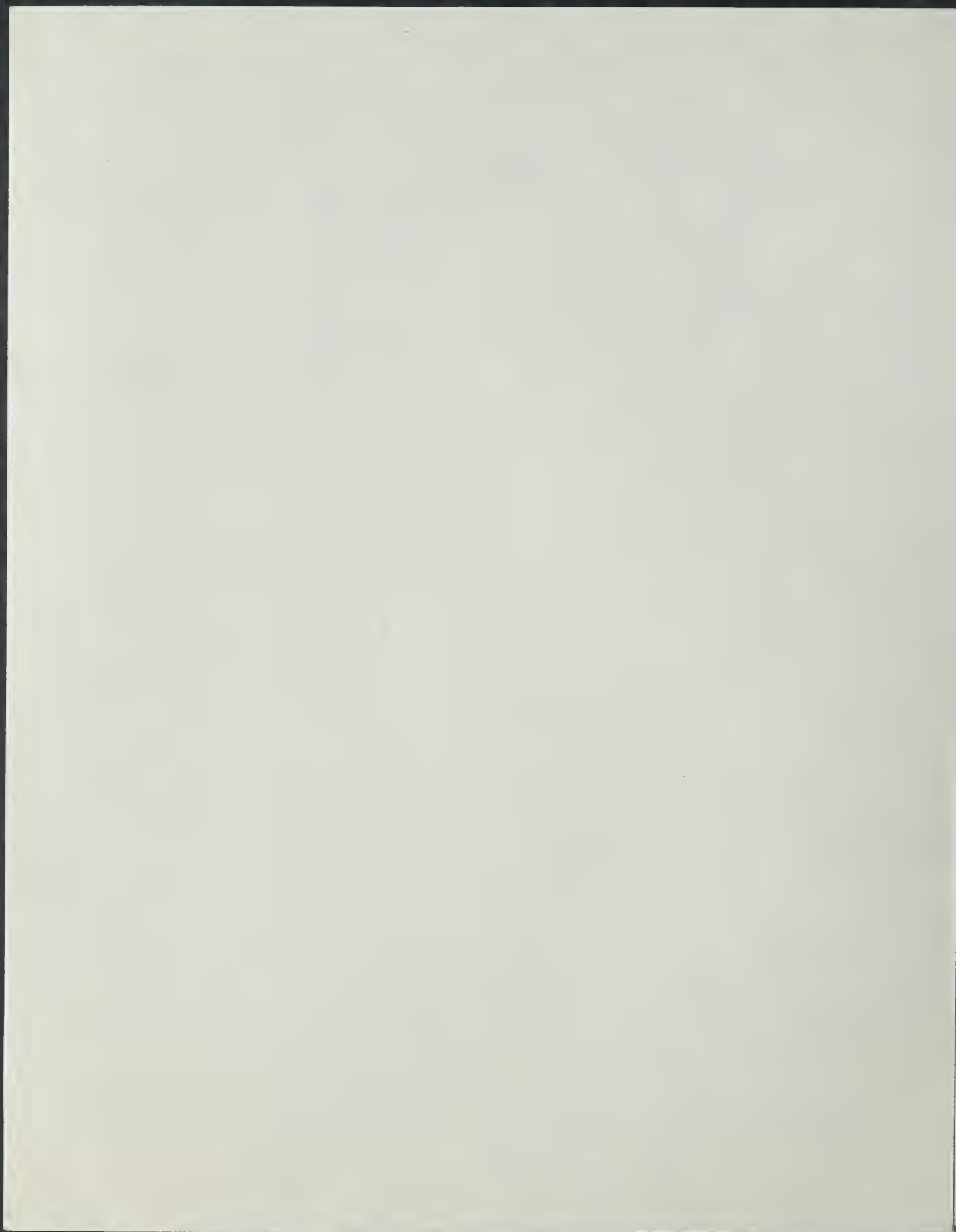


time the song describes how Noaxhn m has rounded the fourth and last promontory and now the siut above have seen him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on each of the preceding occasions X climbs out of sight at night into his sk mos kata.

On the morning of the fifth day X cries out that Noaxhn m is at the mouth of the river where he is tying his canoe to snuti whalangang nuapsu ahaix, the stakes of a salmon house at the mouth of the river on which gulls are resting. This is invisible to most people but X can see it plainly. The alk goes out and repeats what X has said of what Noaxhn m is doing. As before the people go from house to house, in each singing the song, and in each X dances. On this, as on all other occasions, the nunusi m alter X's actual words so that they will fit the song, the sixth used for him. Then once again he retires from sight.

Early on the morning of the fifth day X arouses the household with his vociferous shouting. "Noaxhn m is in the river itself, four Alal mpaq m have come to help him and they are poling up the river to visit Mt. Smal n a." This is a mountain at the head of the Bella Coola River which the salmon like to visit. The Alal mpaq m are siut who have come from above having seen Noaxhn m and knowing that he would have difficulties in ascending the turbulent river. As before the alk gives this information, the people assemble in X's house preparatory to visiting all in the village. They repeat the former procedure at the lowest house and pass from one to another working up the village. But he does not complete the circuit, instead when perhaps half-way through the village he suddenly bellows out that Nu matl m has brought him his ye x. At this the women and the alk s call out vociferously and X returns forthwith to his own house from which the anki nsta are at once expelled, as is done in all cases when a kusiut has a ye x. Nu matl m is a siut who travelled with Noaxhn m for the express purpose of bringing the ye x to X. X remains in his house for the rest of the day.

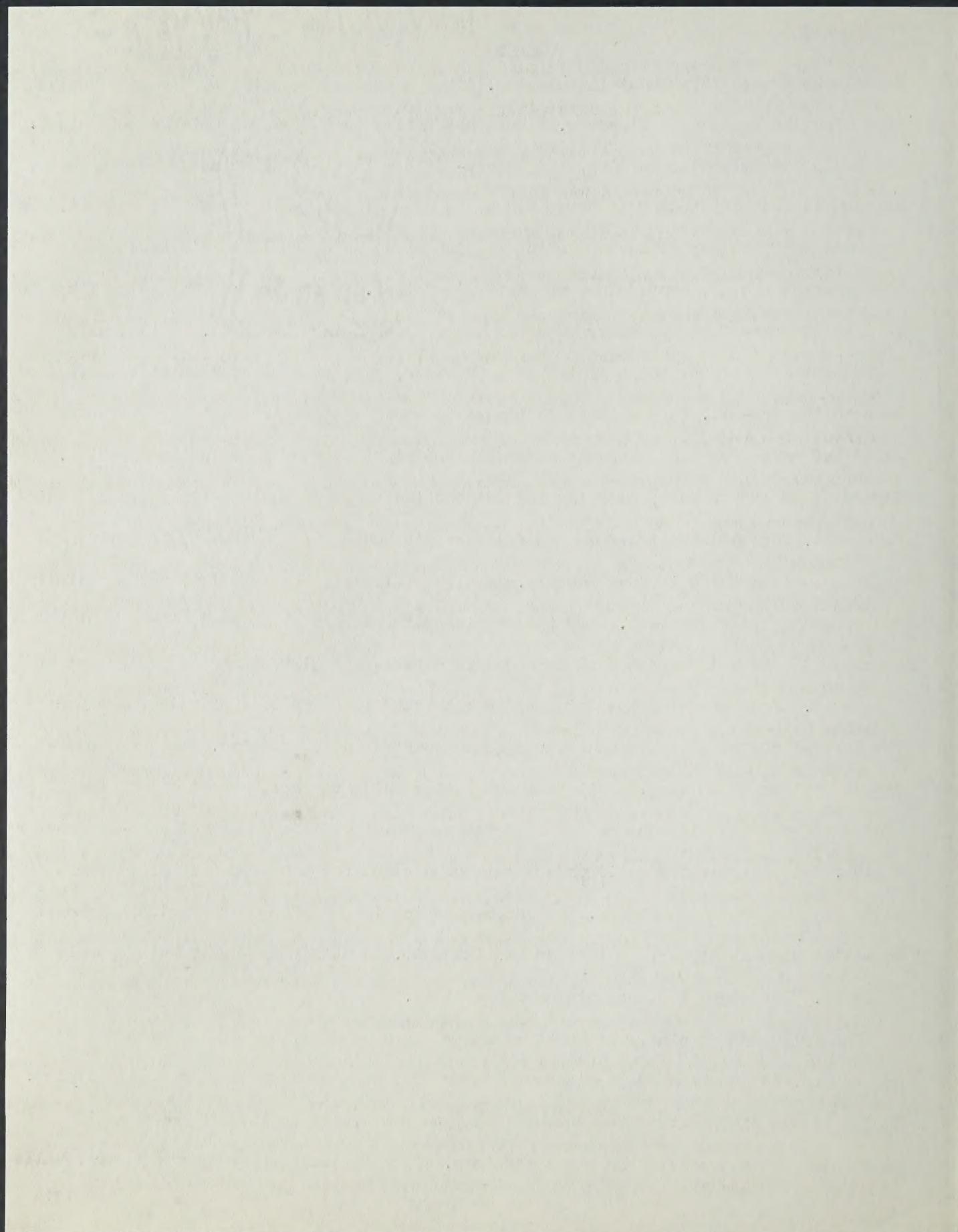
That night the alk summons all the kukusiut to X's house. First the nunusi m sing two new songs which they have composed for the day's events, one dealing with Alal mpaq m, and the other with Nu matl m. Then they sing over the eight songs used for



X while he dances throughout the singing. After a meal accompanied by the good advice of a nipotlan the people disperse. X does not retire to the sk mos kata on this night.

Early the following morning, the twenty-fifth after the beginning of the ceremony, an alk is sent out to say at every house, "Qpan p ql pa", which means "Go and out." In the middle of the day as many kukusiut as wish to do so assemble in X's house where they receive a meal, provided by the latter's father. He chooses as many as he likes to go into the forest to cut alder wood for masks, with X in attendance. At intervals throughout the day the voice of the ye x is heard, made by a bladder whistle compressed beneath the arz-pit. This whistle continues to sound as the party sets off into the woods and warns from the path any ankl nsta who might happen to be in the vicinity. Towards dusk they return, carrying the cut sections of wood on tump-lines around their foreheads. The wood is placed on the floor of X's house very carefully, it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. As night falls all the kukusiut, and especially the carpenters, are summoned. They take their seats and are given food, throughout the ceremony the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, there is no thought of repayment. After the meal they sing the eight songs in a low tone of voice, because the arrival of the ye x has made the ceremony sacred and impressive. Everyone understands what is to be done, so it does not matter which man holds aloft one of the blocks of wood and bids one of the carpenters fashion it into a mask of such-and-such a siut. This is repeated until orders have been given for the execution of as many masks as X wishes to have made. The one mask which is made for every kuslul ceremony, no matter what it may be, is that of Anulikwuzait. When this is finished the people disperse. That night X sleeps wherever he likes.

The following morning, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, an alk summons the carpenters, (nmutzk nh) to X's house where they work away at the masks all morning. In the middle of the day a few kukusiut men, no women, are invited to share a little food which X has provided for the carpenters. After the meal these guests depart, while



the carpenters continue their labours. Towards dusk the alk goes out to summon all to the ceremony, this night's proceedings being known as qotl m. Everyone sits down with the exception of X who dances while the people sing his eight songs, led by the nunusi m. Then he too sits down. Next the nunusi m start a song belonging to any man who has a ye x and this man dances while the audience joins in and beats time. This is repeated for man after man until all who have a ye x have performed, frequently it is nearly dawn before all have finished. Then X's father gives food and presents (now money) to all: this distribution is known as niam axh m. The carpenters and nunusi m receive more than the other guests because of the work which they have done, but this additional payment is not thought of as remuneration. The presents are not returnable. During the meal a nipotlam as usual admonishes the people. When all has been completed one of the nunusi m cries, "Open the door", and the people disperse.

Shortly after dawn the alk goes around to summon once more the carpenters, who gather in X's house to complete the manufacture of the masks. This is the twenty-seventh day of the ceremony. Everyone knows what is to happen and the people, both kukusiut and amkl meta, decorate themselves with paint and other additions to their beauty. Towards dusk the alk summons the kukusiut to X's house, for n busam, as the night's ceremony is called. The masks have been completed and are concealed behind a mat screen between the fire and the back bed-room, under the guardianship of the carpenters. Chips have been swept up and everything is in readiness. When the kukusiut have taken their places one of them, it does not matter who, opens the door and calls out, "a whapao", an invitation to the eagerly waiting amkl meta who enter and stand near the door. The carpenters have selected one kusiut to wear each of the masks, in the case of X four were made, and these four masked figures stand up behind the fire while X stands behind them and sweeps his arm over their heads as he utters a peculiar droning cry (a moxlt) which is a prerogative dependent on his name and which ensures that no harm shall come to anyone from the sight of these siut. The man wearing the mask of Anulikwuzait explains to the amkl meta whence came the lulusta, saying in

